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LIFE

OF

RANOJI RAO SINDHIA,

Founder of the Gwalior State.

BY

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DEDICATED

To the revered Memory of

His Highness the late

MAHARAJAH JAYAJI RAO SINDHIA,

G. C. S. I., G. C. B., C. I. E.,

General in the British Army,

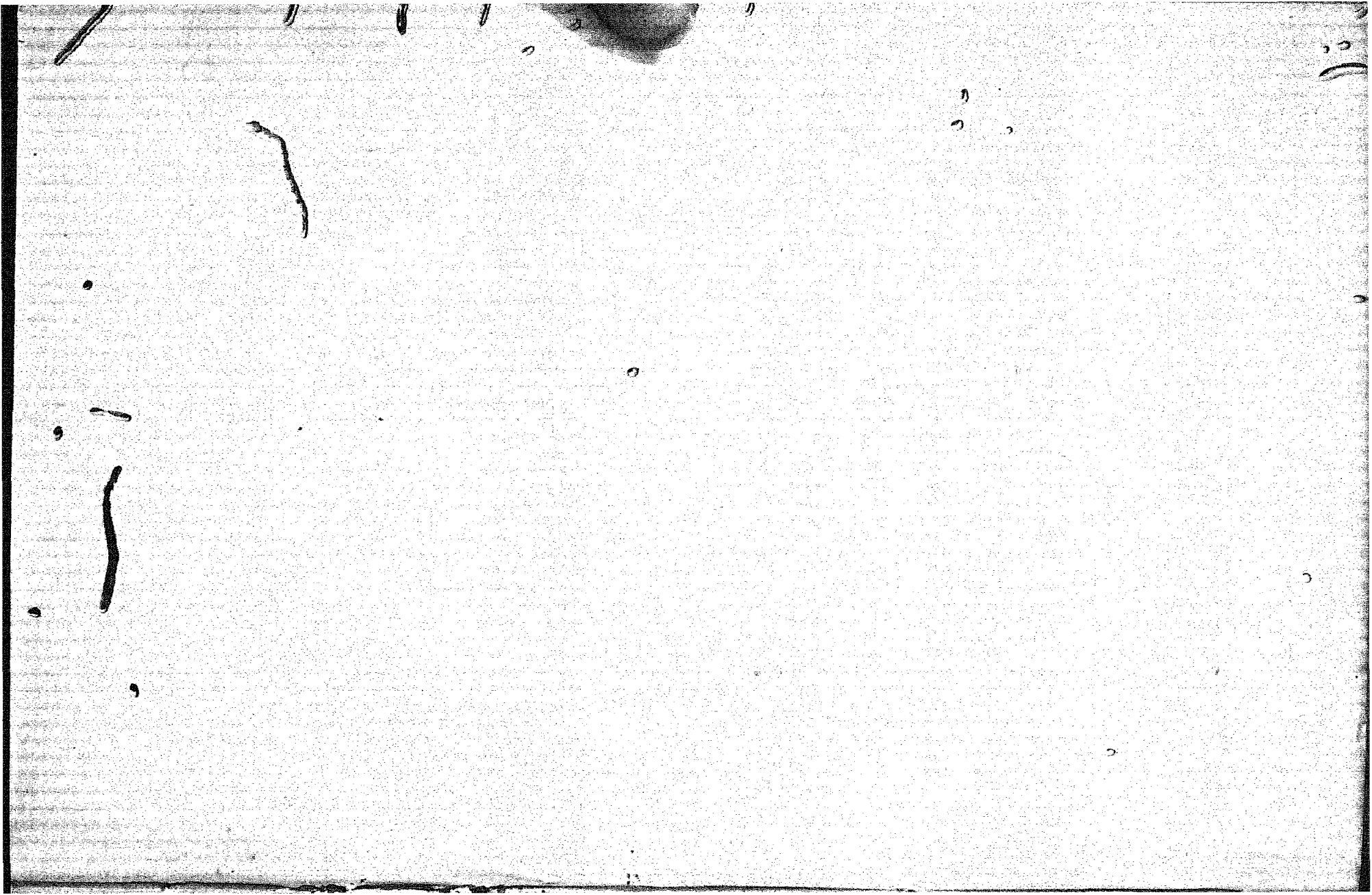
Counsellor of

Her Majesty the Queen-Empress,

as a token of esteem and gratitude

by the author,

M. W. BURWAY.



Ranojee Rao Sindhia.

PREFACE.

In writing this short "Life" of Ranojee Rao Sindhia, the founder of the Gwalior Raj, I have made use partly of the Mss. copy of the History of Gwalior which I wrote between 1892 and 1897 and of which I have made a mention in my "Life of Rao Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao."[1]

(1) My readers would probably be delighted to hear that the "History of Gwalior" might see the light of day after a year or two. On the 11th of June, 1917, Rao Rajah Raghunathrao Dinkar, C. I. E., kindly introduced me to His Highness Maharajah Madhav Rao Sahib Sindhia, G. C. S. I., G. V. O. O., LL. D. and brought my desire to write the "Life" of His Highness' illustrious father (H. H. the late Maharajah Jayaji Rao Sindhia, G. C. S. I., G. C. B., C. I. E., Counsellor of H. M. the Queen Empress) to His Highness' gracious attention. His Highness the Maharajah Sindhia was pleased to approve of my intention to publish the "Life of the late Maharajah Jayaji Rao Sindhia." I rejoice to think that

My object is to present a biography of a great, good, and brave personage like the hero of this narative, based on the Maratha authorities and representing, as far as possible, a faithful picture of the soldier who had the good luck to lay the foundations of a great kingdom under the auspices of the heroic Peshwa Baji Rao 1. This work purports to be one of a series of "Short Lives of great Marathas" who lent their aid in the building up of the Maratha Empire.[1]

this subject has received the generous support of Rao Rajah Raghunath Rao Dinkar, C. I. E., and Colonel Pandit Kailas Narayan Haksar, B. A., C. I. E., my work may surely meet with every facility which an author is entitled to. Mr. A. F. Filose, Bar-at-law, has also taken keen interest in the "Life of the late Maharajah Jayaji Rao Sindhia."

(1) There are some European scholars who have ventured to say that "the Maratha Empire is a misnomer." I have tried to give a befitting reply to these scholars in my publication "The Marathas and the Moghals." Is the worth of an Empire to be judged solely by the length of its existence ?

The standpoint adopted by writers like Mr. H. G. Keene has in it a perceptible bias, intolerable in a writer on historical subject, which voluntarily or involuntarily leads them to belittle the importance and influence of the Maratha Empire generally and especially of the Peshwas of whom none figures in the "Rulers of India" series.[1]

(1) Is the picture of Mahadji Sindhia, as presented by Mr. H. G. Keene, a correct view of that able and eminent Maratha Soldier and Statesman? This subject deserves to be dealt with in detail and we may discuss it fully at some future date. In my publication "The Marathas and the Moghals," I have shown how scholars like Mr. H. G. Keene and Mr. De La Fosse pass wrong judgments on important points in the History of the Marathas. Vide J. P. Saranjame's "History of the Sindhia Family" and "The Marathas and the Moghals." P. 132. We have the strongest reasons to say that Mahadji Sindhia was a thoroughly patriotic Maratha, full of religious zeal, quite faithful to the Peshwa and above all, deeply interested in the cause of Maharashtra.

Is it consistent with historical justice that Shivaji and Baji Rao 1 and Madhav Rao 1 should be conspicuous by their absence in that " series," while Sir Hugh Rose and others have found a place therein ? With all its shortcomings, Grant Duff's ' History of the Marathas ' is more admirable than the recent works of some European writers and on the whole a spirit of justice and fairness characterises his great work more than the recent works from the pen of authors like Mr. H. G. Keene and others. Is Mr. Keene right in his attempt to give the main portion of the credit of the " Hindu re-conquest of India " in the 18th century to Mahadji Sindhia ? The writer of these pages has certanly, at least, as much admiration for Mahadji Sindhia as Mr. Keene has, but historical justice requires that a great deal of the credit of "The Hindu re-conqust of India " should be given to the Peshwa Madhao Rao 1 and his able Sirdars and Ministers as rightly pointed out by the Maratha Bakhars

and the Maratha writers. The object of the present "series" is to do historical justice to the Heroes of the Maratha Empire which fell when the Maratha spirit of Shivaji and Baji Rao 1 became extinct in Maharashtra. The present writer hopes to present to the public, at no distant date, a short 'Life of Madhao Rao 1[1] who re-established the Maratha prestige after the disaster at Panipat in 1761 A. D. The difficulties

(1) This Peshwa stands very high in the estimation of the Maharashtra people and has a firm hold on their affection as a perusal of the historical drama entitled "Thorle Madhav Rao" from the able pen of the late Rao Bahadur Vinayak Rao Janardarn Kirtane would certainly show. Vide also "The Marathas and the Moghals." in this connection pages 132-133. Grant Duff also has spoken of this Peshwa in the highest terms. Recent historical researches have shown the extent of his exertions in the cause of the Maratha Empire and the success which attended them. Mahadji Sindhia was, in fact, the arm-power and Madhav Rao Peshwa and Nana Phadnavis the brain-power of the Maratha Empire during their respective careers.

of a writer are obvious when he has to face a heavy court work. But by the grace of the Almighty I have succeeded in publishing four treatises on different subjects under the auspices of my generous master, H. H. The Maharajah Holkar, the enlightened Ruler of Indore. His Highness' talented Ministers, Rai Bahadur S. M. Bapna, B.A., LL.B., B. Sc. and Rao Bahadur Sirdar M. V. Kibe, M. A. have always given me cordial help and sincere encouragement. Major C. E. Luard, M. A., I. A., whose literary career is well known, has invariably taken much interest in my literary pursuits. I must gratefully acknowledge the aid given by Seth Ratansey Dharamsey Morarji Gokuldas of

Mahadji Sindhia successfully carried out in Hindustan the instructions which were sent by the Peshwa's Durbar from Poona. Under the circumstances the observations of Mr. Keene cannot stand. Sympathetic writers like Mr. H. A. Acworth and Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., I. C. S., do more service to Indian History than those writers who publish their works and opinions on historial subjects with an evident prejudice.

Bombay and Mr. Madhav Rao Vishnu Marathe, of the Bombay High Court. My nephew, Mr. Anand Rao Ganesh Burway has given me very useful information on various points. I thank them all for all the troubles they have taken and the help they have extended to me directly or indirectly. Sirdar Narayan Rao Bolia has also given me good help.

As I owe my philosophical and historical studies to the kind care and zeal of my revered father the Late Rao Bahadur Wamanrao Tatya Burway, it is natural that I should respect his pious wishes with regard to the dedication of this work. Accordingly I feel delighted in dedicating this short "Life" to his master, His Highness the late Maharajah Jayaji Rao Sindhia, whose benign rule extending over forty-three years is so well-known and is so gratefully rememberd by all in the Gwalior Dominions.

In conclusion, I heartily offer my grateful obeisance to the Almighty Shree Rama and pray sanguinely that through His grace Indian History and the biographies of illustrious Indian heroes may receive specially favourable attention from the Indian Princes, whose ancestors

have done so much in the past as to entitle their deeds of wisdom and valour to be carefully studied[1] by Young India.

INDORE CITY,
21st July 1917.

M. W. BURWAY.

(1) In these days of enlightenment and culture one should be sorry to find that occasionally members of one caste should be disposed to depreciate the worth of a national hero simply because he belongs to a different caste. This spirit, however, now seems to be waning. It is a happy sign to see that Shivaji and Baji Rao receive their due meed of credit from the Rajput and other communities. While this Preface was being written, I was visiting Gwalior, Bharatpore and Jaipur and was glad to find that in Rajputana several Rajputs studied Maratha History and took much interest in it. Rai Bahadur Abinash Chandra Sen & Thakore Rupsing of Jaipur supplied me with some very useful historical information. I cherish strong hopes that the correspondence between Baji Rao I and Maharajah Jeysing (1700–1746) may see the light of day. Captain Grant Duff was informed of this correspondence. Baji Rao I and Jeysing of Jeypore were intimate friends and the correspondence was carried on through Venkaji Ram, the Peshwa's Agent who resided at Jeypore.

RANOJEE RAO SINDHIA.

Ranojee Rao Sindhia, the founder of the Gwalior Dominions, was at first in the service of the Peshwa Balajee Vishwanath, who is justly regarded as "the second founder of the Mahratha Empire." The closing years of this Peshwa's successful career were fraught with important results tending to strengthen the Mahratha cause and ultimately lay the foundation of that vigorous policy which knew no defeat or reverse as long as the Mahratha confederacy existed. Ranojee Rao seems to be in an obscure position in this Peshwa's regime which was directed more towards the attainment of territorial aims by diplomatic skill rather than by an open appeal to arms. This regime therefore was not calculated to foster the military spirit of Ranojee, who, as we shall see later on was the observed of all observers during the gloriously successful expeditions of the great Baji Rao Peshwa from 1720 to 1740.

Little that is thoroughly trustworthy is known of the earlier years of Ranojee Rao, whose family was reduced to straigned circumstances during the internecine dissensions which raged for a long time between Satara and Kolhapur. He was descended from a younger branch of the Sindhia family of Kunneir Khed, a village about 15 miles to the east of the renowned city of Satara. It is said that during the rise and continuance of the power of the Brahmini Dynasty, several members of the Sindia family of Kunneir Khed have played an important part in the state affairs. But the subsequent decline of the influence of this family seems to have placed the Sindias of Kunneir Khed in such a position as not to attract the attention of the world at large. Consequently it has been more or less difficult to enter into details regarding the early history of this famous family. What is known with a vestige of truth is that the members of this family were, in olden times, very highly distinguished Shilledars. It is only the later career of Ranojee Rao which the Bakhars deal with somewhat scantily yet sufficiently to enable the

historian to form an approximate estimate of his life and work. Though these circumstances tend to baffle an enquiry into this direction, the reader will be rejoiced to find that there exists, at least, a tolerably reliable account of Ranojee's part in the famous invasions of the great Baji Rao.

Balaji Vishwanath died in 1720 at Saswad, where he had gone for taking a short rest after his extraordinary exertions in laying out the lines of a sound administration in the Satara Raj. This is not the place for making an attempt at a detailed discussion as to how Balaji Vishwanath's wise precautions had paved the way for the development of the Mahratta power. The reader will be able to form an estimate of this great Peshwa's memorable work by referring to the pages of Grant Duff or Elphinstone, the latter of whom ungrudgingly says that "Shahoo would never have recovered his superiority but for the abilities of Balaji Vishwanath." The illustrious scholar of Maharastra, the late Mr. Justice Ranade, has dwelt on this subject exhaustively.[1] On the authority of

(1) Vide "Rise of the Maratha Power" by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rande, M. A, L. L, B.

Indian as well European Historians, Balaji has been considered as the second founder of the Mahratta power and it would be a gratifying duty to see how Baji Rao extended this power beyond the Narmada, and how in fact Baji Rao raised Shivaji's small state to the status of an empire. Bajirao's Lientenants Ranojee Rao, Mulhar Rao Holkar, the Powars of Dewas and others rose to eminance during this Peshwa's invariably victorious career.

With Baji Rao's career Ranojee Sindhia's name is indissolubly connected, in-as-much-as it was in this regime that Ranojee's services attracted public attention and official recognition. Baji Rao was formally invested with the office of Peshwa about seven months after the death of the last Peshwa. His first thought, after his accession to the Peshwaship, was to carry the Mahratta flag beyond the Narmada. It was indeed a mighty undertaking, when the opposition to this gallant Peshwa's plans is taken into consideration. The Nizam was his open as well as subterranean foe; the Pratinidhi had girded up his loins to beset his path with every conceivable obstacle; the Raja Shahoo

was a prince who was not expected to have an independent or a sound judgment; the resources of the Mahratta State were such as to discourage even a stout heart, inclined to lead an expedition beyond the confines of Maharashtra. But Baji Rao surmounted all these difficulties by dint of his unequalled energy, his unfailing genius, and his indomitable courage. He exerted himself to the utmost in rousing the dormant energy of the Mahratta people and directing it to the extension of the Mahratta power to the rich provinces of Hindustan, where the decaying power of the Mogals afforded an enviable opportunity for establishing the Mahratta influence. It was, in fact, a glorious opportuuity and it would have been a political blunder to allow it to pass away. Baji Rao's rivals, however, tried to do their best in throwing obstacles in his path. Sripat Rao Pratinidhi was the foremost amongst the domestic opponents of Baji Rao and being in a position to gain the Raja's ear was often successful in hindering this Peshwa's path.[1] But the

(1) It would be interesting to take a cursory view of the controversy set on foot by the publica-

Peshwa's views at length were on the high road

tions of recent works. In the times in which Shahu came, the Mahratta power had, more or less, become relax by being subjected to various trials. There was a dearth of capable men and Shahu, unlike Shivaji, was a person who possessed nothing of that personal influence or power to guide the destinies of a state during such trouble-some times or to cement the hearts of men opposed to one another. Theory is one thing and practice another. Those who venture to blame Baji Rao or the Peshwas for neglecting Shivaji's Rajmandal, must bear in mind the undeniable fact that very few of the Shahu's courtiers were characterised or qualified by capacity or knowledge of the state of the political atmosphere of those days. It is a hard fact to state that none of Shau's courtiers except Baji Rao had grasped the real situation. Had Baji Rao not availed himself of the golden opportunity, the Mahratta power would have been confined to the patch of territory which Shahu possessed in Maharashtra. Take away Baji Rao from the court of Shahu and then there is no "Mahratta Empire", for Shahu's small state could never be called an Empire. It rose to the position of an Empire by Baji Rao's exertions, his glorious victories in Hindustan, and the prestige of his ever victorious arms. Colonel Tweedie C. I. S, formerly Resident in Gwalior, told me that the real worth of Baji Rao would be fully known when the Peshwa's entire Daftar is accessible to the historian. I have given the letter from Colonel Tweedie, a great admirer of Baji Rao, on another page in connection with this subject.

to success, as the Raja Shahu was prevailed upon to see clearly through their ultimate results and the sound reasons which prompted them.[1]

The Pratinidhi's argument was that Shahu should, after arranging the domestic affairs, direct his attention towards the Carnatic and other possessions of Shivaji and thereafter turn the Mahratta Banner towards Hindustan. Baji Rao held views, diametrically opposed to them and their wisdom has been proved by the undeniable logic of future events and the valuable testimony of even foreign writers of Mahratta History. The soundness of Baji Rao's excellent views has further been demonstrated by the glorious success which attended his invasions of Malwa in 1725. The laudable energy and confidence which the Peshwa evinced in fitting out that expedition which was frought with extremely important political and

(1) Vide "Marathas and Moguls" by the present author, pages. 69 to 71

territorial advantages and which opened, for the first time, the way for the subjugation of the whole of Hindustan deserve attention. It is impossible to do full justice to this very significant subject in this work but some mention of it is necessary, in as much as Ranojee Rao, the hero of this narrative, has taken a conspicuous part under his august master the Peshwa in all these invasions of Malwa.[1]

Before turning to describe the famous expeditions of Baji Rao into Malwa and Khandesh, we ought to take some notice of the memorable speech which this Peshwa delivered on the occasion of refuting the arguments of the Pratinidhi who had ventured to stigmatize Baji Rao's plans to carry the Mahratta flag beyond

(1) We would present to our readers the views of Grant Duff and other European Historical writers on this important point:

(*a*) "Such were probably the real opinions of Shripat Rao, but the wisdom of Baji Rao was of a much higher order. Baji Rao painted the present condition of India, the weakness, indolence and imbecility of the Moguls, the activity, energy, and enterprise of the Mahrattas; he

the Narbada as "rash and imprudent." That the Pratinidhi was absolutely wrong in holding these views, the out come of ambition and love for power,[1] is now as clear as day light, and no

observed that if the great Shivaji had been of the same opinion as the Pratinidhi, he would have thought it necessary, before venturing into the Carnatic, to reduce Bijapur and Golconda. As to their domestic quarrels beyond the Krishna, it would be time to think of them hereafter. Grant Duff.

(b) "Baji Rao was the first to show the path by which afterwards Mahadji rose to supremacy." Keene: Mr. Keene quotes fully the memorable speech of Baji Rao and then makes the above remarks. Elphinstone supportes this by an aggregate estimate of Baji Rao's work in extending the Mahratta Empire. It would be thus seen that Grant Duff, Elphinstone and Keene support Baji Rao's views by emphasizing their wisdom and future results.

The "Bakhars" point out how Baji Rao was more than a match for the Pratinidhi.

(1) In some quarters it is believed that the cause of difference between Baji Rao and the Pratinidhi arose from the difference of their caste. I do not believe it. Love of power is so great that it has caused feuds between father and son, between real brothers. What do we find in the case of Aurangzeb and his father Shah Jahan. Both the rivals were strong and tried to secure power.

more arguments are now needed for exploding them. "Now is our time" said the gallant Peshwa, "to drive the Moghals from the land of Hindus, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindustan, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kishna to the Attock." The commanding eloquence and earnestness of Baji Rao overcame the doubts of Shahu Raja,[1] who exclaimed with enthusiasm, "you shall plant it on the Himalaya"; "you are indeed a noble son of

Did not Balaji Vishwanrth save Parsharam Trimbuk from danger? It is impossible that the Pratinidhi would be so ungrateful as to forget this fact. I think Baji Rao and the Pratinidhi were above caste prejudices.

(1) The artful schemes of Nizam-ul-mulk, which, but for the penetration and vigour of Baji Rao, would probably have unlinked the connecting chain by which Ballaji Vishwanath had joined the interests as well as the inclimations, of most of the Hindu chieftains of the Deccan "Grant Duff. The Nizam espoused the cause of Sumbhaji of Kolhapore at the cost of Shahu Raja, who "looked to Baji Rao for counsel and for vengeance;" for these Shahu would have battered his life, and for these he now virtually sold the supremacy of his Empire." Shahu Raja wished to march in person against his

a worthy father." Regarding the internal condition of the Mogul Empire the Peshwa made some very pertinent remarks. "Let us strike" said Baji Rao, "at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves." From this it would be clearly evident that Baji Rao had thoroughly mastered the

rival but this was thought to be improper. "Full powres were therefore delegated to Baji Rao, and the great influence which the Peshwa had acquired, may be observed in the promptitude with which many of the most unruly and factious of the Silledar families willingly gathered round the standard of the nation." After being foiled in his attempts by the Peshwa Baji Rao, the Nizam wrote to the Raja Shahu as well as to the Pratinidhi, who was Baji Rao's opponent. In this letter the Nizam tried again to foment caste hatred and to pose as the friend of the Mahrattas, but to no purpose. Raja Shahu paid no heed to these delusive demonstrations of friendship. The Mahrattas under Baji Rao and the Nizam entered on a struggle at no distant date, and as the future events would show, the cunnig attempts of Nizam-ul-mulk were nipped in the bud by the foresight and vigour of Baji Rao.

Vide "India through the Ages" by Flora Annie Steele, who endorses our opinion by taking a very reasonable view of Baji Rao's noble and patriotic plans.

course of events in the Mogul court and the cause of weakness which was eating into the heart of the Mogul Empire. Hence arose his confidence in, and his eagerness for, the glorious Upper India expeditions, of which we shall speak with details in the following pages.

The Nizam-ul-mulk was the chief rival and antagonist of the Mahrattas. He often used his endeavours to foment dissensions amongst the Mahratta princes and in this at times he succeeded. The Nizam-ul-mulk was, however, too shrewd and cunning to openly act on the offensive and it seems that his deep laid stratagems were not fully known until Baji Rao came upon the scene. In Baji Rao the Nizam had to face an antagonist who could not be deceived by tricks or beguiled by diplomatic astuteness. Till 1727 the Peshwa and the Nizam had not come face to face. After this year the two leading personages joined in a struggle, in which the Nizam was worsted and obliged to repent of his mistake in interfering in the family feuds of the Mahrattas. In this struggle Ranoji Rao was with the Peshwa. The Nizam, after suffering great hard-ships, was forced into,

terms and conciliated his great rival Baji Rao by a cession of territory and a payment of a large sum of money as expenses of the war. Ranojee Rao was with his master the Peshwa during the important action at Delhi in 1736. Baji Rao advanced by making forced marches to the Mogul capital and encamped in the vicinity of the imperial city. The object of this sudden appearance at the imperial court was to make an impression on the Emperor's mind as well as to strike terror into the hearts of the lords of that luxurious court. Some negotiations between the Peshwa and the Emperor were going on and Baji Rao had removed his camp to the Jheel Tank, when Muzafar Khan, Meer Hussein Khan, Raja Siva Singh and others thought of attacking the Mahratta camp. The Mogul force was estimated at 8000 men. An engagement followed, in which the Mogul army was completely routed, Raja Siva Sing being slain and Meer Hussain Khan being motally wounded. Mulhar Rao Holkar and Ranoojee Rao Sindhia displayed great valour on the battle field. Six hundred men of the Mogul army were killed in tne

action. Two thousand horses were captured by the Mahrattas together with the imperial elephant. Thus Baji Rao, in his first expenditon in Hindustan, humbled the prestige of the Mogul Emperor and shook the very foundations of Babar's imperial thrown at Delhi[1].

Ranojee Rao Sindhia was present at the great and decisive battle of Tal Bhopal in 1738, which brought additional fame and glory to the irresistible spear of Baji Rao, who is believed to have displayed an almost uncommon valour at Bhopal. Ranoji Rao Sindhia, in company with Sayaji Gujjar and Pillaji Jadhav, led the Mahratta troops into action, being under the direct command of the Peshwa. A complete victory was won by the Mahrattas who were repeatedly refreshed by the gallant Peshwa's cheering calls to storm the fort and take it. It is recorded in the most authentic works that the Peshwa Baji Rao exposed himself to the utmost danger

(1) The Bakhars give a very lively description of this battle, which served to demonstrate to the Moguls that the Mahrattas were a living power, able to engulf the decaying influence of the Mogul Emperor. For details of this battle near Delhi, see the Bakhars.

by riding a famous Arab charger in the front of his army. The faithful Ranojee Rao Sindhia was always by the side of his master and bravely shared the danger with the great Peshwa. The courage of the Moguls began to give way. The repeated attacks of the Mahrattas made havoc in the ranks of the Nizam's army. From no quarter there was any hope of succour for the Moguls. The Nizam became utterly hopeless and impatient and at last threw himself on the mercy of the Peshwa, expressing his willingness to conclude any humiliating treaty which Baji Rao might dictate. The Nizam's most pressing request was that the Peshwa should raise the seige immediately as the Mogul army suffered heavily from the Mahratta assults and was unable to cope with the hardship consequent to the blockade. After being thorougly convinced that the Nizam was completely humbled and was really disposed to comply with the Mahratta demands, the Peshwa issued orders to the different commanders to raise the seige.[1]

(1) The Nizam is alleged to have sent a paper signed and sealed by him to Baji Rao, requesting the Peshwa to write out the terms of peace, which the Nizam was ready to agree with. The effect of this victory was very important and established the prestige of Baji Rao in upper India.

Throughout the military operations at Bhopal, Ranojee Rao greatly distinguished himself and won the Peshwa's full favour. Baji Rao, who was ever ready to appreciate courage whenever and wherever it was found without any distinction of caste, creed or colour, showed fresh proofs of his great regard for Ranojee, who had always a sincere affection and religious veneration for his master the Peshwa Baji Rao, who, himself a soldier, knew the worth of his lieutenants very well.

The Mahrattas obtained many important advantages from their glorious victory at Tal Bhopal. In fact this victory served greatly to firmly establish the Mahratta power in Malwa and in other parts of upper India. It paved the way for the future conquest of Hindustan, while its immediate effect in consolidating the Mahratta prestige can hardly be overlooked. The Nizam quietly signed a most humiliating treaty in 1738, by the terms of which the whole of Malva together with the districts between the Narbada and the Chambal were made over to

Baji Rao.[1] The expenses of the Mahratta expedition were also to be defrayed by disbursements from the Nizam's exchequer. As alluded to above, the far-reaching consequences of this victory were certainly significant and their importance, viewed from the standpoints of territorial gain and prestige, is worthy of mention.

There is one more momentous point to be remembered in connection with the Nizam's position at this time. The Emperor of Delhi, alarmed at the rise of the Mahratta power under the leadership of Baji Rao, had spared no pains in inducing Nizam-ul-mulk to leave no stone unturned in driving the Mahrattas from the ceded provinces. The Emperor, finding that the Nizam was the only person in the Empire who could be entrusted with such a gigantic plan, had flattered his inordinate ambition in every way and had conferred the

(1) How Baji Rao utilized the services of Nandalal Mandloi (Zemindar of Indore) during the Conquest of Malwa would be known with interest from a perusal of Rajwade's sixth khanda 591-621. Baji Rao also brought the Rana of Burwah to subjugation through this Mandloi.

fullest powers upon him for securing success in this undertaking. Tfie reader will therefore be able to understand that the whole might of the Mogul empire was, tottering as it was, opposed to the Mahrattas. The Nizam took the field with bombastic preparations and provisions, aided as he was by several of the Rajput princes who still clung to the declining Mogul sovereignty. Baji Rao had, therefore, to face not a vascillating and half-hearted opposition but the united force of the Mogul allies gathered together by the old, experienced and able Nizam-ul-mulk, who was now prevailed upon by the Mogul Emperor to pose as a champion of the Imperial interests for destroying the Mahrattas by a grand and united effort. It will be clear from this discussion that the victory of Baji Rao at Tal Bhopal in 1739 has a special importance about it.

Ranojee Rao Sindhia was sent by Baji Rao to co-operate with Chimnajee Appa, the youner brother of the Peshwa, in the memorable seige

of Bassin (Wusai) in 1739 [1]. Sindhia had an opportunity to take part in this the most vigorous military operation against a European power. Baji Rao had strictly enjoined Chimnajee Appa, who was attended by Ranojee Sindhia and Mulhar Rao Holkar, to carry on the war against the Portuguese with vigour and to secure the Konkan districts. The contending powers—the Mahrattas and the Portuguese—did their best in playing their respective parts. Ranojee Rao Sindhia took Kuttalwadi and Dhanu from the Portuguese in January. Soorgan, Kelwa, and Tarapur fell into the hands of the Mahrattas at no distant date. The Portuguese defended Tarapur bravely but at last were overpowered by the Mahrattas. In this way the war against the Portuguese was energetically carried on by Appa Saheb with the aid of Ranojee Sindhia and other officers in Konkan,

(1) For details of the Mahratta operations at Bassein in 1739, see "Life of Chimnaji Appa" by Gopal Govind Khare, whogives a good description of the character of the leader of the operation at Bassein. Chimnaji treated the wife of the Portuguese Commander with great respect.

while Vyankat Rao Ghorpare was acting vigorously round Gowa.

While Ranojee Rao was thus usefully engaged, an event of great significance had occurred in the Mogul capital. Delhi was taken and plundered by Nadir Shah. About eight thousand (8000) or more of the unfortunate citizens of Delhi were put to the sword. The Emperor was dragged into imprisonment and Nadir Shah reigned supreme in the imperial city. These tidings roused the noblest feelings of the patriotic Peshwa, who now gave his own attention to the defence of Hindustan against such a cruel invader. Baji Rao wrote to Appa to come at once to the North with Ranojee Sindhia and other experienced commanders. Appa Saheb, however, was loth to leave the successful operations in Konkan without obtaining the full reward of his exertions. He set his eye on Bassein in a resolute way. Appa made up his mind to take it even at the cost of his life. The besiegers and the besieged fought with remarkable valour and held their posts with uncommon tenacity. Victory, at last, graced the Mahratta arms, and Appa's Vow

was fulfilled[1]. This famous victory over a European Power greatly raised the reputation of the Mahrattas and served to elevate Appa Saheb in the estimation of his countrymen.

After the victory of Bassein, Appa Saheb ordered Ranojee Rao Sindhia and Mulhar Rao Holkar to proceed at once to the North to join the Peshwa, who was encamped near Nasirabad. The patriotic and noble views of Bajl Rao regarding the defence of Hindustan, as set forth in his letters, are admirable and show the general tendency of his large mind and superior nature. Grant Duff says that the Peshwa was not "dismayed when he heard that a hundred thousand Persians were advancing towards the South." Mr. Martin adds in his "British India" that "the departure of the

(1) Chimnajee Appa had told his officers that Bassein must be taken at all hazards and that in case that attempt seemed difficult of attainment or impossible, his head might be blown from the mouth of a large cannon so that it might at last fall within the fort of Bassein. We mention this popular anecdote in order to show how unflinching was the resolve of Chimnaji Appa in taking Bassein. S . G. Khare's life of Chimnajee Appa.

Persians was hastened by fear of the Mahrattas, then ably ruled by Baji Rao, the second Peshwa." The gallant Peshwa's thoughts can be best gathered by his fearless attitude as shown in the extracts from his letters[1] referred to in the preceeding pages. Nadirshah had written a letter to Baji Rao before leaving Delhi. In this letter the ruthless Shah's reference to Baji Rao's large army was worthy of being noted, while his threat about punishing those, who disobeyed the Emperor Mahomed Shah, proved as vain as it deserved to be. Nadir left Delhi on the 5th of May 1739 and never returned to India to see Mahomed Shah or his successors as the pensioners of the Mahrattas.

The long list of services, rendered faithfully and zealously by Ranojee Rao Sindhia to his august master Bajl Rao who was always ready

(1) Baji Rao's cousin (his mother's brother's son) Baburao Malhar Burway was the Peshwa's Vakeel at Delhi and his letters are so full of detailed information as to repay perusal and throw abundant light on this subject. They point out how Bajee Rao guided the course of events by his praiseworthy vigilance and prudence. They show that Baji Rao was a watchful statesman.

to confer due rewards on his devoted and loyal servants, brought forth a noble appreciation and recognition at the hands of the gallant Peshwa. Ranojee Rao's meritorius services and his proverbial devotion to his master had long ago been observed by Baji Rao. It was therefore fully expected that the Peshwa would confer a Jahgir[1] on Ranojee Sindhia. Like Alexander the great Baji Rao always bore a paternal affection for his soldiers and officers and was at all times most anxious to appreciate merit as soon as it was brought to his notice. As, moreover, Baji Rao kept up, like the great Macedonian monarch, no state

(1) The Jahgir system has formed the subject of much controversy and it is alleged that this system led to the future dismemberment of the Mahratta Raja. Mr. Rajwade, whose admirable exertions in the cause of Mahratta history deserve to be spoken in the highest terms, finds fault with the Jahgir system. With all respect to this worthy and learned gentlemen, I beg to say that on a comprehensive and dispassionate view of the case, it would be found that some cogent arguments are in favour of the system, which it would be impossible to summarily arraign. It is its mis-use thatdeserves to be condemned.

when on an expedition and freely and frequently mixed even with the humblest of his Siledars, he found many oppertunities of seeing for himself which of his lieutenants were gifted with that amount of energy and ability, which, when fully developed and brought into play, goes undoubtedly to elevate their possessors to the summit of glory and greatness. In fact Baji Rao was always in touch with the pulse of the Mahratta soldiery and it is owing to this noteworthy circumstance that several states like Dhar, Gwalior, Indore, Dewas and others came into existance during the sucessful regime of this heroic Peshwa. In this way the Soldier Ranojee Rao Sindhia, one of the most faithful and devoted of the Peshwa's servants, laid the foundation of a mighty state in Hindustan under the auspices of Baji Rao.

While the Mahratta affairs were in this way making a satisfactory progress, the Mahratta nation had the misfortune to face, in the near future, a grave catastrophe, which was as unexpected as it was severe. Baji Rao, the joy and hope of Maharastra and the patron and Master of Sindhia, Holkar and the Pawars, had a

serious attack of high fever on the holy banks of the Narbada. The Peshwa was advised to desist from bathing in the Narbada, while he was indisposed but the advice fell upon deaf ears[1]. To the last day of his life he continued to bathe in the holy water of the Narbada. His iron constitution, at last, succumbed to the attack of fever, though his undaunted spirit never gave way till the last moment of his life. When he found that this was to be his last illness, he summoned his faithful adherents, Ranojee Sindhia, Mulharjee Holkar and others, to his bed-side and advised them to carry on his schemes till their fruition and to release the

(1) The Peshwa resembled in many ways the great Macedonian monarch Alexander. In one respect, however, he was even superior to him. Alexander the great grew proud and even insolent when at the zenith of his power and was disliked by several of his officers for his palpably over-bearing demeanour. But to the last moment of his life the great Baji Rao was, thanks to his spiritual teacher the saint of Dhawarshi, free from this reproach and was exceedingly beloved by all his officers. Pride, display of power, or vanity never approached him till the last moment of his life and even when he was at the summit of his greatness.

Hindus from "the Tyranny of the Moguls." He also gave valuable advice as to the way in which the Mahratta affairs should be controlled and conducted. He exerted his officers not to mourn his death, and never to allow this circumstance to slacken the onward march of the Mahratta Power. In the morning of the 28th of April 1740 the ever victorious Baji Rao peacefully expired at Kakde in the Rawer district on the Narbada, his mental faculties remaining unimpaired to the last.[1]

It would be difficult to do full justice to the life work of this heroic Peshwa in this work. The subject is so important that a separate work alone would suffice for such a purpose. Next to Shivajee, Bajee Rao is the only personage in the Mahratta history, whose career and views deserve to be most carefully

(1) There is a "Chatree" of Baji Rao on the Narbada. The Holkar State pays an annual sum of Rs. 120 for its upkeep. An interesting account of this "Chatree" is written by Mr. Karandikar, Vakil and public Prosecutor of Mandleshwar in Indore State. The Mahrajah Holkar has taken due care that the revered memory of the great Peshwa may be properly honoured.

studied. Caste hatred, the bane of the Hindu community, has gone a great way in detracting much from the hearty meed of applause which is justly due from every Hindu to this gallant Peshwa, who had a head to contrive and a hand to execute gigantic plans; who, in spite of domestic opposition from jealous and short-sighted men, prevailed upon the Raja Shahu to sanction the bold schemes which he successfully carried through; who timely availed himself of the golden opportunity by extending the Mahratta power and prestige in India and left an undying and glorious impression on the Indian history by his undaunted career of success; who showed by his work and his influence, that "the Mahratta Empire" was a reality and not a misnomer and that the Mahratta spear was capable of the highest achievements.[1]

(1) Baji Rao had, like Shivajee, a spiritual teacher of great reputation in the person of Brahmendra Swami of Dhawadshi. This revered Swami swayed the politics of Baji Rao just as Shree Ramdas did those of Shivajee. Both the Swamies have entitled themselves to the greatest respect of Maharashtra. There are several original

During his short regime, he enlarged the boundaries of the Mahratta kingdom to an enormous extent and from Delhi to the Tung Bhadra his victorious spear was formed and respected. The whole of his time was taken up in the furtherance of his mighty schemes and in this work he was unaided and alone. The other counsellors in the Raja's court were either apathetic or jealous of Baji Rao and hence much harm was done to the onward march of the Mahratta power. The views of

[1] letters in Baji Rao's hand-writing in the possession of the Swami of Dhawadshi and from these letters Baji Rao's patriotic feelings, his love for his religion and country men, his truly Shivajee-like hatred of the Mogul tyranny may be known with a great amount of certainty and interest. How Baji Rao was troubled by his creditors at this time becomes apparent from a perusal of the letters. These letters indicate the bent of Baji Bao's supremely energetic policy and his unequalled patriotism.

Baji Rao's life-work is best summed up in the follwing short but most significent sentence: "दौलतेंत कांहीं ताकद नसतां लौकिक उत्तमच केला. मुख्य गोष्ट राजश्री रावसाहेब पुण्यवंत यामुळें यश येतें." Vide Rajwade's Khand II. 7.

this Peshwa are discussed sometimes with great force by the Peshwa himself in his letters to the venerable saint Shree Brahmendra Swami of Dhawadshi, who was to Baji Rao what Shree Ramdas Swami was to Shivajee. In short the whole life of this Peshwa was spent in the field and in the service of the Mahratta cause which he upheld and carried to success in the face of open and subterranean foes. Baji Rao was a Hindu of the Hindus and like Shivaji, an enthusiastic deliverer of the Hindus from the Mogul 'Zulum.'

Baji Rao was succeded in the Peshwaship by his son Balajee BajiRao, who received the clothes of investiture from Raja Shahu in the month of August 1740. The delay in Balajee's recognition as Peshwa is explained by the attempts that were made by the party opposed to the Peshwa. Raghujee Bhosale was the leader in this affair. But through Chimnajee Appa's influence and help, Balajee was at last successful in assuming the office for which he was quite fit. This Peshwa was more a statesman than a soldier and his regime was greatly successful in establishing the complete supremacy of the Peshwa, while his conciliatory and prudent

nature obviated the rise of internal feuds for a long time to come[1]. Raghuji Bhosale and others, who were secret opponents of the Peshwa, were won over by Balajee by his tachful conduct and were satisfied with his plans and arrangements for the furtherance of the Mahratta Power.

Ranojee Rao continued to serve his master as faithfully as he had done before. He served the first three Peshwas and had the good luck to live to old age honored by suceess and favoured by fortune[2]. In the imperial transac-

(1) see "Vividha-Dnyan-Vistar" for February 1917, in which Mr. Govind Sakharam Surdesai discusses Baji Rao's career. It is a happy sign of the times that Mr. Surdesai has spoken so appreciatively of the Peshwa Baji Rao I. I differ from him, ofcourse, with regard to certain traits in Baji Rao's character and I think Baji Rao's glorious Victories and his phenemenal success in conquering large provinces fully show that Baji Rao was a soldier as well as a statesman. As a statesman he baffled the Pratinidhi's views.

(2) In a letter, dated the 3rd September 1819, Captain Stewart, the acting British political Resident at Sindhia's Court, writes as follows:—"Ranojee is stated, after he was promoted, to have carried with him carefully packed in a box a pair of the Peshwa's old slippers which he never ceased to regard with almost religious veneration as the source of his rise"—

General Malcolm's Memoirs,
Central India P. 96 Vol, I.

tions Ranojee Rao took a considerable part and was at one time a security for the due observance of the treaty between the Peshwa and the Emperor regarding the province between the Chambal and Narbada. In 1746, this brave warrior died at Sujalpur.[1] His age at the time of his death was undetermined, though it is obvious that he must have reached the limit of a good old age. He began service as a Silledar in the Peshwa's body guard and died as one of the most powerful of the Peshwa's Sirdars in Hindustan. Such is, in short, the career of this scion of the Sindhia family of Kuneirkhedd, the founder of the Gwalior state.

There had been a great deal of discussion as to the way in which Ranojee Rao Sindhia rose to such a position of eminence. Several causes are given by differnt authors to explain Ranojee's rise and predominant influence. It is

(1) For details about the year and date of Ranoji Rao's death, see Rajwade's works, Khand VI. See also the "Life of Jivaba Dada Bakshi" in connection with the ancodate about Mahadaji Sindhia, who was not ashamed to take up Sawai Madhav Rao Peshwa's slippers. It shows Mahadji's religious zeal and true Hindu fidelity. The Peshwa's "Karkirdee" shows that Ranoji Rao died before the year 1749.

there fore necessary to dwell on this point to find out the truth.

Sir John Malcolm, the repnted auhtor of the Memoirs of Central India, proves it beyond the pale of doubt that Ranojee Sindhia served at first as a page to Balajee Vishwanath Peshwa and afterwards to his son Baji Rao I.

General Malcolm asserts the fact on the authority of Captain Stewart, who was British Political Resident at the court of Sindhia at the time when the General was writing his famous Memoirs of Central India. Ranojee Rao deserves therefore to be praised all the more for raising himself from such an humble position to the highest pinnacle of glory and greatness by dint of his uncommon loyalty and devotion to the service of the Peshwas and also by his undaunted courage and praise-worthy behaviour on the battle field. In connection with this the following lines of Pope may be read with great ineterest.

"Honour and shame from no conditlon rise
Act well your part: there all the honour lies."
'Essay on Man."

"Worth makes the man and want of it the fellow,
The rest is all but leather and prunella.'

That Ranojee acted his part well is now well known to all, well known to the world at large.

Prince Balvant Rao Bhaiya Saheb Sindhia of Gwalior says as follows on this point:—"The low position assigned by General Malcolm to Ranojee Sindhia does not rest on any solid foundation as far as my information goes. It is certainly not borne out by the Sindhia Family traditions.

"Mr. H. G. Keen in his valuable work on the rulers of India writes as follows:—"But the father of Ranojee had fallen upon evil days.' He had become a Patel, or village manager and his son had been fain to take service as a private trooper in the Paga or Body-guard of the Peshwa Balaji Vishwnath. Employed to take care of slippers of his master during any interview that the latter might have with the

Raja, it was Ranojee's duty to present them when the Peshwa came out again pp. 50.

"It really passes comprehension how Malcolm and other European writers, who take their cue from him, could make Ranojee Sindhia a private trooper and a slipper-bearer at one and the same time. The one position was quite incompatible with the other. Neither a Commandar nor a Trooper of a Paga is ever called upon to perform the duty of menial servant, which was the true position of a slipper-bearer. There are Pagas still existing in Mahratta states. Men that compose the Pagas do nothing but soldier's work, which is altogether different from that of a menial servant.

"My own idea is that European writers from Malcolm down to Keen had fallen into the error of confounding Pagey with Pagah. Pagey in the Maaratta language means the commander of a Paga, while the word Paga conveys the idea of a body-guard or house-hold troops.

"That Ranojee was Commander of a Paga was admitted by our family tradition, but that he was ever reduced to such abject poverty as to resort to the occuption of slipper—bearer was quite false, baseless and absured. To be a commander of the body-guard and a slipper-bearer at one and the same time was quite incomprehensible to Mahratta intellect."

Several causes have been assigned to explain the very rapid rise of Ranoji Rao Sindhia to power. Some say that Ranoji Rao owed his greatness to the influence of Malhar Rao Holkar. This is certainly difficult to understand and seems to have no stamp of truth on its face. What the veteran General Sir John Malcolm says with regard to the cause of Ranoji Rao's sudden rise to power may deserve some belief, because the General was closely connected with the Maratha affairs and was, moreover, like the good Mr. Elphistone thoroughly acqualnted with the course of Maratha History.

He had more-over no reason to misrepresent facts regarding great men and great events of Maharashtra. According to the General then the cause of Ranojee Rao's sudden rise was the occurance of a peculier incident on the occasion of the Peshwa Baji Rao's visit to the Maharaja Shahu Chhatrapati of Satara. [1]

It is stated that Baji Rao had many important political questions to discuss with Shahu Chhatrapati with the view of securing his sanction to them and was, consequently, detained in the palace till a very late hour in the night. Ranojee as the Peshwa's page had to wait outside the audience hall with his master's slippers. Overcome with sleep at that late hour of the night the proverbially faithful Ranojee Rao lay down fast asleep on the ground with the Peshwa's slippers held close to his bosom. Coming out of the hall after the discussion of state affairs with the Chatrapati,

(1) Vide General Malcolm's Memoirs of Central India. Vol. 1,, P. 116. The anecdotes are given in the Appendix in full.

Baji Rao saw Ranojee Sindnia in the same condition as is described above. The Peshwa was rejolced beyond measure by such a touching sight, and in the excess of his joy was heard to exclaim: "If this Ranojee Sindhia takes so much care of my slippers, surely much more care he will take of my kingdom." The next day Baji Rao raised Ranojee Rao Sindhia to an important office in the Hujur Paga and from that day Sindhia rose to greatness by rapid strides.

In the Holkar's Kaifiat the cause of Ranojee's rise to power is attributed to the intercession of Mulhar Rao Holkar. But this account, as is already observed, does not appear to be true and is at the same time not corroborated by any weighty authoritv.[1] Moreover we never find

(1) Vide Mr. Atre's "Life of Malhar Rao Holkar", p. Mr. Atre has taken a very discreet view of the matter. It would be enough to say that Malhar Rao Holkar had no direct concern with Ranoji Rao's rise tc power.

Ranojee Rao acting at any time in subordinate position under Mulhar Rao; nay, it is frequently mentioned that Mulhar Rao and Ranojee Rao held positions of equal importance, independent of each other, under the Peshwa. The anecdote, which is already given on the authority of General Sir John Malcolm is more worthy of credence and is at the same time more calculated to have induced the far-sighted Peshwa to promote Ranojee Rao whose sterling worth and uncommon fidelity, combined with great bravery, had fully justifid the selection made by Bajl Rao, almost all of whose trusted servants became, it is worth noticing, either founders of great states or important personages in the Mahratta empire. The fact that the Sindhias used to consider the Holkars as their brothers is another strong ground to doubt the veracity of the statement fhat Mulhar Rao had any hand in the rise of Ranojee Rao, for in that case the Sindhias would not have taken so much liberty with their patron.

It may safely be said that Malhar Rao Holkar seems to have no serious hand in this matter at all.

The times in which Ranojee Rao lived were happy indeed, in-as-much-as genuine loyalty and faithful service ever met with their due reward from such a master as the great Baji Rao who was ever ready to appreciate the unshaken devotion of his servants without any regard to creed, caste, or colour. It was during the service and under the patronage of this Peshwa that Ranojee Rao Sindhia, Mulhar Rao Holkar, the Powars, and many others rose to greatness and became founders of important states in Central India.

Sir John Malcolm and Prince Bulvantrao Bhaiya Scindia are diametrically opposed as regards the posltion of Ranojee Rao as slipper-bearer of the Peshwa. At this date more evidence on this point is not likely to be forth-coming. Prince Bulvant Rao Scindia's argument is

placed before the public along with the official letter from Captain Stewart, British Resident at Sindia's Court. In our opinion this difference of opinion is capable of solution by the frame of mind of the devout Hindus of the 18th Century. There is a world-wide difference between the present Hindu and the Hindu of Ranoji Rao's time. The old Hindu always considered his master as a father[1].

(1) In this connection I may appropriately relate the story about Rao Sahib Apte, the spirited son of the celebrated Baba Apte. Rao Sahib Apte was a brave and trusted officer of Maharajah Jayaji Rao Sindhia, G. C. S. I., G. C. B., C. I. E., but he had a very uncontrollable temper. He could not get on with anyone except Maharajah Jayaji Rao, who had a warm regard for Rao Sahib Apte, a soldier but no Courtier. This Rao Sahib was not afraid of behaving indifferently to Rao Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao and the Resident at Gwalior. One day when Maharajah Jayajee Rao called his page, none was present except Rao Sahib Apte who was on guard near the Royal Bed Chamber. Rao Sahib

That Ranoji Rao sindhia was an exceedingly devout and faithful Mahratta is beyond the pale of doubt. When Bajirao came out after his audience with the Rajah Shahu, it is probable that this faithful Ranoji Rao, even though employed in the Peshwa's body-guard, might

Apte at once understood the Maharajah's mind and was on the point of bringing the Maharaja's slippers, when His Highness peremptorily prevented him from doing so. With a laudable presence of mind Rao Sahib Apte recited the following Sloka:—

अन्नदाता भयत्राता कन्यादाता तथैव च ।
जनिताचोपनेता च पंचैते पितरः स्मृताः ॥

" The giver of food (master); the deliverer from a calamity, the father-in-law, the real father, and the preceptor (Guru)—these five are called fathers. " It is well-known throughout Gwalior that Rao Sahib Apte was not a flatterer and Courtier but a soldier cap-a-pie and none would doubt that he said this to please the Maharajah, for there was no need to do so. The old Hindus carried grateful feelings to the end of their lives. Hindus of the times of Ranoji Rao Sindhia were somewhat different from Hindus of today.

have placed the slippers before his master, who had undoubted ground to be pleased with the faithful Ranoji Rao and who advanced Sindhia since that day to higher posts with rapidity.

Under these circamstances, it is probable that the devout and faithful Ranoji Rao Sindhia might, even if he be a soldier and not a page, have begun to regard his master's "slippers" with reverence and gratitude and that there is no necessity to indulge in a historical hair splitting with regard to this point in the absence of further evidence. Viewed from any stand-point the career of Ranoji Rao Sindhia deserves the approbation in every way of Maharastra especially and generally of India, for it is certainly no mean phenomenon to see an ordinary soldier rise to the proud dignity of a prominent Sirdar of the mighty Mahratta Empire under the auspices of the great Baji Rao.

Ranojee Rao Sindhia's death caused apparently no great commotion. But it deprived

Maharashtra at a critical time of an experienced commander, trained under the great Baji Rao and fully acquainted with the military tactics that ensure success in the field of battle. Had he lived a few years more, the troubles with the Rajputs would have been either nipped in the bud or would have been gloriously settled in a satisfactory manner. He had three sons from Minabai who was lawfully married to him viz. Jayappa, Dattaji, and Jyotiba. From his informal marriage with Chimabai, he had two sons, Mahadji and Tukoji.[1]

Ranoji Rao was brave and of an intrepid nature. He possessed an exceedingly religious

(1) Saranjame's History of the Sindhia family, page 12, Raoji Pendse, who was intimately connected with the Peshwa's Daftar and whose knowledge of the Mahratta affairs was duly appreciated by all his contemporaries, mentions that Chimabai was Rajput by caste and that she was informally married to Ranoji Rao Sindhia. Mr. R. B. Bhalerao told me that she was a Mahratta woman.

bent of mind. He was high-minded and generous and frank and free in his behaviour. His intimate friendship with Malhar Rao Holkar arose from their being thrown together in the field and from a congeniality of their disposition. It is certainly difficult to believe that Ranoji Rao courted Malhar Rao Holkar's friendship through greed or financial pressure, as mentioned by General Malcolm[1] in his Memoirs of Central India.

Ranoji Rao attended to the administration of

(1) Vide Atre's "Life of Malhar Rao Holkar" and Saranjame's "History of the Sindhia Family" in this connection. In the preceding pages I have given some reasons for disbelieving the allegation that Ranoji Rao owed his rise to Malhar Rao Holkar. Both of them were Sirdars of the Peshwa and quite independent of each other and under the circumstances there appears no valid reason for a belief that the friendship between Ranoji Rao Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar had its origin in greed. I believe their friendship to be quite disinterested.

his Saranjami Jagheer territory, yielding an income of about sixty lakhs, of which annually he had to send some amount to the Peshwa's Durbar after defraying the expense of civil and military administration. Baji Rao I had appointed Ramchandra Baba Shenwi,[1] who was originally a Kulkarni of humble position, as Dewan to Ranoji Rao Sindhia and this selection reflected great credit on the Peshwa, as thereby the civil administration was entrusted to proper hands.

(1) Ramchandra Baba Shenwi deserves some detailed notice, as he has cut an important figure in the transaction of the State affairs. He was exceedingly attached to Sadashiva Chimnaji, the nephew of Baji Rao I and gave one third of his estate to Sadashiva Rao, ordinarily known as the "Bhow" of Panipat fame. The "Bhow" greatly appreciated this affectionate gift from Ramchandra Baba, though the "Bhow" was certainly not in want of it. The "Baba" was to the "Bhow" what Sakharam Bapu was to Raghoba Dada, the Victor of the Punjab.

The Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao recognised Jayappa alias Jayaji Sindhia, the eldest legitimate son of Ranoji Rao Sindhia, as successor to the Saranjama.[1]

(1) Little did Ranoji Rao dream that his valiant sons would have to sacrifice their lives for the Mahratta cause and that the great Mahadji Shindhia, the offspring from an informal connection with a Rajput lady, would have to wreak vengeance on the Moguls and the Rohillas, while carrying out the orders of the illustrious Peshwa Madhav Rao I, who had seriously resolved to retrieve the Mahratta power & prestige after the Panipat disaster of 1761. Vide "The Mahrattas and the Moguls" in this connection, Page 74–75. See also the " Life of Mahadji Sindhia " by the Hon'ble Mr. Natu, B. A., LL. B. Mr. H. G. Keene's views, as obserbed elsewhere, are often times at variance with those of the Mahratta writers. " रामचंद्र बाबा शेणवी कारकुनी व शिपाईगिरी या दोहों कामांत निपुण असा पाहून, त्यास बाजीरावानें शिंद्यांचा दिवाण केला."

APPENDIX.

(*a*) In 1724 A. D., Ranojee Rao greatly distinguished himself in the important battle near Burhanpore, in which Baji Rao inflicted a severe defeat on Nizam-ul-mulk. A party of the Marathas was on the point of being overwhelmed by the Moguls, when Ranojee Rao instantly led a terrible charge against the Moguls and dispersed them.

(*b*) In the "Life" of Bakshi Jiwaba Dada, the author makes the following reference to Ranojee Rao Sindhia and his rise[1] to power:—

"रामचंद्र बाबा सुकठणकर हे बाजीरावसाहेब पेशव्यांचे कारकार्दीत एक मुत्सद्दी होते. त्यानीं राणोजीचे गुणावरून त्यास योग्यतेस चढवावे ह्मणून त्याची बाजीरावांकडे हुजरेगीरीवर मुद्दाम नेमणूक कर-

(1) Vide General Sir John Malcolm's Memoirs of Central India Vol. I., Page 96 (Calcutta Edition of 1890). Malcolm's anecdote is more worthy of credence than the above-mentioned story. It is, however quite probable that the good Ramchandra Baba might have recommended Ranoji Rao to the Peshwa.

विली. पुढें एके दिवशीं बाजीरावसाहेब व रामचंद्र बाबा खलबतखान्यांत खलबतास बसले होते तेथें त्यांना बराच वेळ लागला. खलबतखान्यांतून उठल्यावर रामचंद्र बाबा बाहेर आले. तों राणोजी श्रीमंतांचे जोडे डराशीं धरून निजलेला असून, त्याच्या हातापायांवर राजाचिन्हांच्या रेषा उमटल्या आहेत; असें त्यांनीं पाहिलें. मग ती गोष्ट त्यानीं बाजीरावसांहेबास दाखवून झटलें, "हा पुरुष भाग्यशाली होणार आहे. यास चांगलें काम देऊन वाढविल्यास नांव मिळवील."

This account is at variance with the anecdote mentioned by General Sir John Malcolm and Captain Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas. We need not enter into an exhaustive discussion as to how far Ramchandra Baba is concerned in the rise of Ranojee Rao Sindhia. It would be enough to point out that all accounts are, more or less, unanimous in the belief that Ranojee Rao's uncommon attachment and devotion to his master, the Peshwa Baji Rao, led to his rise and that the immediate cause that arrested Baji Rao's attention was the shoe incident, a touching sight, which greatly influenced the sympathetic heart of Baji Rao.[1]

(1) That Ranoji Rao was, formally or informally, a page to Baji Rao was known to Mahadji Sindhia, as the following incident would point out. Nana Fadnavees arrang-

We have already referred to Baji Rao's being above the prejudices of caste and colour and our readers would be delighted to see that the great Peshwa is rightly praised for this noble trait in his heroic character. On this point,[1] the

ed that a procession should start from Shanwar Wada and that in this procession all Sirdars, Officers, etc. would walk on foot behind the elephant of the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao. Nana Fadnavis thought that Mahadji Sindhia would be in a fix, as he could not walk a great distance. With a laudable presence of mind, which Nana must have admired, Mahadji Sindhia took up the Peshwa's slippers as soon as the Peshwa occupied the Ambari on the elephant and followed his master, occupying the seat in Khawasi behind the Peshwa in the Ambari. The seat in the Khawasi is, indeed, honourable. Mahadji Sindhia thus won the day.

(1) See in this connection the short "Life" of Ramchandra Baba in "Saraswat Ratna Mala". It is remarkable that during Baji Rao's regime he never tried to advance the interests of his caste fellows at the cost of others and hence it is that Baji Rao, like Shivaji, is considered as a national hero. Shivaji and Baji Rao were the deliverers of the Hindu race from the tyranny of the Moguls and it is but right that they should have nothing of the petty sectarian spirit which is found in some successful men of lower calibre.

author of the "Life" of Jiwaba Dada Bakshi says as follows:—

"बाजीरावसाहेब पेशवे खरे परीक्षक असून, शौर्याशिवाय त्यांच्यामध्ये दुसरेही पुष्कळ उत्तम गुण होते. त्यांच्या कारकीर्दीत शौर्यश्री मराठी राज्यांत पुनः अवतीर्ण झाली होती, असें ह्मणण्यास हरकत नाहीं. ते गुणांचे चाहते असून, कोणत्याही विशिष्ठ वर्गास किंवा स्वार्थादि कोणत्याही एकदेशीय स्वभावास वाहिलेले नसल्यामुळें शिंदे होळकरादी बरींच सरदार घराणीं त्यावेळीं उदयास आलीं. आणि त्यायोगानेंच मराठी राज्यांतील जोमदारपणा वाढला."

Ranojee Rao's share in the conquered territories between the Chambal and the Narmada was as described below:—

"रामचंद्र बाबा कर्ते पुरुष. माळव्याचे माहालाचा आकार पाहून वांटण्या केल्या. निंमे शिंदे, निंमे होळकर ऐशी वही वाट चालली. परंतु वाटणीचा तपशील येणेंप्रमाणें:— श्रीमंत ४५ (लक्ष), शिंदे २२॥, होळकर २२॥, व पवार १० याप्रमाणें आकार पाहून माळवा वांटून दिला." [1]

(1) The civil administration was, it will be seen, in Ramchandra Baba's hands and in as sound a condition as was possible at the time and under the circumstances.

(*c*) The following extract is quite to the point in this connection: "The humble employment of Ranoji Rao was to carry the Peshwa's slippers; but being near the person of the chief minister of an empire in any capacity, is deemed an honour in India. The frequent instances of rapid rise from the lowest to the highest rank led men of respectability to seek such stations; and it is probable that ambition, not indigence, influenced the principal officer of a village to become, in the first instance, the menial servant of Ballajee Vishwanath"—Page 95.

Memoir of Central India & Malwa Vol I. by Malcolm.

By the same Author.

Public & Press Opinion about the "Bhagwat Gita."

"The book under review is really a valuable aid to the appreciation of the beauties of the song celestial. The Book has been ably written and deserves a wide sale."

—Vedic Magazine March 1917 Himalaya.

"Mr. Burway's exposition on the whole breathes a spirit of religions zeal and ardent patriotism and will no doubt, infuse a spirit of reverent enquiry in the mind of Young India whom he specially addresses and who are apprised of the danger of their losing sight of their priceless heritage in their admiration for modern science and modern philosophy."

—New India, Madras.

"This is a valuable publication. It awakens deep interest in the mind of the reader. The author's ample references to the various modern critical studies of the

Gita and his earnest appeal for a harmonisation of different religions on the basis of its synthetic teachings form, no doubt, very instructive features of his book."

—PRABUDHA BHARAT MAYAVATEE HIMALAYAS.

"Mr. Burway presents a non-sectarian and harmonising character of the Gita in a very devout and appreciative spirit. He thinks that its non-sectarian character should be used as a foundation to build up a new and undivided Hinduism. The Volume eminently deserves to be in the hands of every religions man."

—UNITED INDIA & NATIVE STATES, MADRAS.

"A critical edition by an Indian scholar is welcome. The work is written in an easy style and the get-up is good."

—THE HINDU MADRAS.

"The author maintains that the Gita is an exposition of the Adwaita philosophy as taught in the Upanishadas and by Shankaracharya. At the same time it is as full of practical wisdom as of speculative law. The auther strongly criticises the views of Pandit Tatwabhushana on the teachings of the Gita and the histori-

city of Shri Krishna, and exhorts his readers not to be influenced by shallow criticisms of foreign critics and their Indian followers. The auther rightly deplores caste dissensions and points out that they are inconsistent with the lofty principals of the Gita. The Introduction will repay perusal by all interested in Hindu religion and philosophy. The text is in bold Deonagari Type and the translation is simple and readable."

—INDIAN REVIEW, MADRAS.

In an appreciative and long review of the "Glimpses of the Bagwat Gita and the Vedant philosophy", by Mr: M. W. Burway, the Saraswati an ably conducted Magazine of Allahabad says as follows:—

इसमे संदेह नही की लेखक महोदयकी पुस्तक पढनेसे और उनकी युक्ति पूर्णबातोंपर बिचार करनेसे, यही कहेना पडता है के जिस उद्देशसे आपने इस पुस्तककी रचना की है वह सर्वथा स्तुतियोग्य है. युक्तियांभी आपकी तर्क सगंत हें. बर्वेजीकी संमती है की गीताका झुकाव यद्यपि भक्तिमार्गकी और अधिक है तथापि वह यह नही कहेती के उसी मार्गसे मोक्षसिद्धि होसकती है. बरवे महाशयका कथन यथार्थ मालुम होता है, मार्ग चाहे जो हो. चाहे कर्मयोग हो चाहे ज्ञानयोग हो चाहे भक्ति हो साधक यदि साध्य नामे दृढ है तो उसे मोक्ष-

लाभ अवश्यही होगा. आपका यह निष्कर्ष बहुत मनोहर भी ह, बुद्धिभी इसे अंच्छी तरह ग्रहण करती है, इस पुस्तकमें गीताका समय, कृष्णका समय, कृष्णकी रासलीलाका रहस्य आदि औरभी कितनेही ज्ञातव्य विषय है, अतएव अनेक दृष्टियोंसे पुस्तक पाठ योग्य है. "

—SARASWATI JANUARY 1917 ALLAHABAD.

The leading Marathee Magazine Vividha Dnyan Vistar says:—

" मि. बर्वे यानीं पुस्तक फार परिश्रम घेऊन लिहिलेले आहे, प्रत्येक इंग्रजी जाणणारानें हे पुस्तक अवश्य वाचण्याजोगें आहे. "

In addition to these opinions from the leading papers and Magazines the " Bhagwat Gita " by Mr. M. W. Burway enjoys the good opinions of eminant scholars like Mr. B. G. Tillak, the Honourable Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru M. A., LL D. Member Viceregal Council and many others. The venerable and learned Pandit Kanhere Shastree made a very favourable reference to Burway's " Bhagwat Gita " on the 28th April 1917 before a very large audience in the Shree Datta Temple Indore City, thereby refuting the groundless remarks of Mr. V. G. Apte regarding the interpretation of the 66th sloke of the 18th Chapter of the Bhagawat Gita.

" An interesting study of the Divine song with Sanskrit text giving evidence of great scholarship and research."

—" East & West " May 1917, Simla.

" Mr. M. W. Burway, the Small Cause Court Judge at Indore is, to say the least, an insatiable reader and a voluminous writer. No subject, but it is at Mr. Burway's fingers ends. But Philosophy is his pet subject. His very extensive Introduction to his Gita brushes aside all irreverent thinkers and Philosophers and places before our mental eye in full lustre the melodious song. Mr. Burway is a thinker who would shut up disagreement in the region of thought. Mr. Burway is a loyal patriot who would wield all the different nationalities in India into an organised whole, scattering quarrels, small and great, to the winds and rallying all under the banner of the Krishna Gita. His view is very nice. It is smooth delightful reading to all that have faith and feeling. The book delighted us in a way.

Mr. Burway's is a labour of love. It has given peace of mind to him. It has given peace of mind to us. May the same blessing be showered upon all."

—Indu Prakash, Bombay April 25th 1917.

" Mr. Burway is a reverent student of the philosophy of Bhagawat Gita and has brought to bear on its exposition a scholarship of no mean order. His book is lucid and instructive. We trust there would soon be a second edition of this very useful work."

—HINDUSTAN REVIEW, JUNE 1917, ALLAHABAD.

"The Mahrattas and the Moghals."

The opinions of the Press.

In a leading Article the "Bengalee" says:—

".....Mr. Burway deals with those causes which led to the great struggle and unravels the hidden impulses of the movement which culminated in the establishment of the Mahratta Empire....."

".....A lively little volume, a very interesting reading to the general reader and especially to every true Mahratta patriot.....The Appendix in which he shows that the battle of Panipat was by no meaus a fatal blow to the Mahratta supremacy has originality about it and much historical interest....."

—INDU PRAKASH, BOMBAY.

"This little historical work is the embodiment of laborious and critical research on the part of the learned

author.....We commend the book to the notice of our educated countrymen....."

—The Amrit Bazar Patrika, Calcutta.

".....The book will be very useful to every student of Indian History and to those who would like to trace the causes which lead to the decline and full of some of of the most glorious and splendid empires in the world....."

—The Hindu, Madras.

".....An excellent short study of a great subject..... The book displays considerable industry and an appreciable research and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.....

—The Hindustan Review, Allahabad.

".....This small book shows industry and research and what is more a just idea of proportion with regard to the treatment of the various phases of Mahratta Rule....."

—Indian Review—Madras.

"..... We have no hesitation in commending the little work as it is both original and instructive....."

—United India And Native States, Madras.

".....A brief but luminous historical production... ...As a popular record of the great struggle between the Moghals and the Mahrattas, this little book is bound to win permanent recognition in historial literature. The author's happy marshalling of details for the popular mind and his apt ready quotations from anthorities constitute admirable features of this interesting production.

—PRABUDDHA BHARAT, MAYAWATI, (HIMALAYAS).

".....One of the best written, though short, histories of the struggle is one by Mr. M. W. Burway, B. A., Judge of the Small Causes Court, Indore,.....It is an enlarged edition of a work on Mahratta History published by the author some twelve years ago. A feature of the book is the wide range of authorities the author has consulted in its preparation. "

—THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

".....कै. रा. सा. रानड्यांच्या इतिहासानंतर इंग्रजींत महाराष्ट्र लेखकानें लिहिलेलें हें पुस्तक पंधरा वर्षांनंतर पाहावयास सापडलें, यामुळें या पुस्तकाचा मान विशेष आहे.....सध्यांचा

हिंदुस्थानचा बोल मराठींतून नसून इंग्रजींतून आहे, त्यांचा खंड पडला तर पूर्वजांचें नांव बाकीच्या बिरादरींतून नष्ट होईल, ही भावना झालेले जे थोडे लोक आहेत त्यांत रा. रा. बर्वे हे आहेत, यामुळें आम्ही त्यांच्या कृतीला विशेष मान देतों. पुन्हां रा. रा. बर्वे यांचें अभिनंदन करून अशींच इतर पुस्तकें व विशेषतः मध्य आर्यावर्तातील अस्सल ऐतिहासिक लेख प्रसिद्ध करण्याबद्दल आम्ही त्यांन सुचवितों."

—VIVIDHA-DNYAN-VISTAR, BOMBAY.

"Life of Rao Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao, K. C. S. I.

Opinions of the Press.

".....Mr. M. W. Burway has made a valuable contribution to Indian Historical literature by compiling a life of Rao Raja Dinkar Rao, K. C. S. I., that grea Prime Minister of Gwalior who saved the British Empire from being split on the rock of the Rebellion of 1857..."

—INDU PRAKASH, BOMBAY.

".....A highly interesting and instructive Life..... The biography is full and there is ample evidence in the work before us to show that the author has gone to the original sources for the materials of his work. It is one of best Indian biographies we have come across....."

—UNITED INDIA & NATIVE STATES, MADRAS.

"We commend this book for perusal to all lovers of Indian History and Officers in Indian States....."

JAYAJI PRATAP GWALIOR.

".....A short but well written biography.....It is evident from a perusal of the book under review that the task of putting before the public a popular story of this great Life could not have been undertaken by abler hands....."

—PRABUDDHA BHARAT, MAYAWATI (HIMALAYAS)

".....We hope that the devoted admirer of the great Indian statesman will lose no time in bringing out a fresh and revised edition of this interesting work....."

—EAST & WEST, BOMBAY.

" The complaint is justly made that there are few good biographics of those eminent Indians who have moulded the destinies of their Motherland during the period covered by British rule. One who therefore successfully removes this reproach does a real service alike to Indo-Aglian literature as to the rising generation of educated Indians. In this group of patriotic Indians we should place Mr. M. W. Burway whose interesting work on Maratha History we appreciatively noticed

some time back. His Life of Raja Sir Dinkar Rao—the distinguished Mahratta Statesman, famous as the Prime Minister of Gwalior—is an excellent biography of a great and noble Indian—well-written and suggestive—and is not only interesting but instructive."

—HINDUSTAN REVIEW, ALLAHABAD.

ERRATA.

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ॐ तत्सत्.